

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## REACTION AND REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### Egypt v Iraq

By BRIJEN K. GUPTA

IT is obvious that in the Middle East, an open struggle, often violent, is taking place between the forces of the Left and the forces of the Right, sharply divided by the pro-Egyptian and pro-Iraqi sentiments respectively.

Syrians have been complaining that Iraq has been supplying arms to the fascist elements inside Syria to ferment a civil war, while the Iraqis with an equal anger have charged the Government in Damascus with being directly responsible for the widespread public demonstrations in Iraq.

In the Persian Gulf oil producing *sheikhdoms*, riots and blowing up of oil wells has been reported. In Kuwait, following the directives of the Federation of Arab Trade Unions, dominated by Syrians and Egyptians, pipelines have been cut and oil wells have been sabotaged.

Saudi Arabia, traditionally pro-Egyptian in the Middle East, is greatly perturbed by the Syrian swing to the Left.

### ARMS SEIZED

In Lebanon the nationalist Government of Abdullah Yaffi, pro-Egyptian in its outlook, has been replaced by Sami Solah, who is trying to stay neutral in this conflict between Baghdad and Cairo-Damascus.

Last month the Syrian Government an-

# RED CROSS APPEAL TO BRITAIN

## Lift bar on Kenya investigation

THE British Government has barred the International Red Cross from sending a team to visit the Kenya detention camps where over 24,000 Africans are being held without trial and many of them subjected to acts of brutality.

When Mr. P. Gaillard confirmed last Saturday that the International Red Cross had been barred from the Kenya Detention Camps, he told Reynolds News:

"The claim is made that the Geneva Convention does not apply to Kenya. But we are not letting the matter rest.

"We hope British public opinion will bring about a change of heart now that the facts are coming out."

### Montgomery, Alabama

## STILL WALKING TO FREEDOM

One year of American Gandhism

By Dr. HOMER JACK

THE Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, have just observed the first full year of their Gandhian non-violent resistance campaign against bus segregation. To celebrate the event and prepare the people for the ultimate test, a week-long Institute on Non-violence and Social Change was held, attended by some 500 persons from throughout the southern United States.

The theme was familiar: "Freedom and Dignity through Love."

The protest started in December, 1955, when a Negro woman refused to go down to the segregated Negro section of a bus in downtown Montgomery. She was arrested for breaking the city and State segregation laws.

This touched off one of the most remarkable protests in American history. For a solid year the 50,000 Negro citizens of Montgomery refused to ride the buses. After several weeks they organised their

munity of Montgomery, although there was a bombing of Dr. King's home, many threats by the White Citizens Council, the hanging of effigies of Negroes, and the parading of the dreaded white-robed Klan.

During the boycott, legal manouvering continued in several directions. Dr. King and almost 100 associates in the Montgomery Improvement Association were arrested for conspiracy to boycott. Dr. King was convicted and his sentence is being appealed. Also the bus segregation ordinance was appealed.

British MPs have been receiving letters smuggled out of the camps alleging brutality and pleading for inspection by a British delegation.

EILEEN FLETCHER, the former Kenya Government Rehabilitation Officer whose exposures in Peace News last May led to a House of Commons debate on Kenya writes:

TOO much is coming out about Kenya for the Government to continue to refuse an independent judicial enquiry.

People at my meetings (I have now addressed 83 since June) are referring to the Government's reply to my allegations and saying how evasive it is.

I would go further than that and say it is composed of half truths and complete inaccuracies.

The Government is so keen for people to have their memorandum that they are sending it out to them and returning the stamps people have enclosed for postage (these people paid a shilling for my pamphlet!).

My reply will be published in full in Peace News early in January after it has been sent to the Colonial Secretary. In the meantime we have fresh revelations of brutality in the detention camps published by Reynolds News on December 16.

### WHY?

If Mr. Lennox-Boyd really does not know what is going on in Kenya would he not be wise to set up an independent enquiry? Even if he continues to be satisfied, the general public is not.

The United Nations, quite rightly, are asking for observers to be allowed into Hungary. What right has our Government to ask for this and at the same time refuse all requests for an enquiry in Kenya?

Why is the International Red Cross not allowed in?

Peace News readers will remember that in my articles I said the detainees were not allowed the rights to which they would have been entitled as prisoners of war.

This is one of them.



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Last month the Syrian Government announced the dramatic seizure of a caravan load of arms, and alleged that they were being smuggled from Iraq, and were consigned to Havel Sroor, a member of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies, and a leader of the pro-Iraqi movement inside Syria.

Sroor, with three other independent members of the Chamber, Muneer Ajlani, Adel Ajlani and Fadel Allah Jarbough, was arrested

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# Message to Hungarian people and Soviet soldiers

MICHAEL RANDLE, 22-year-old member of the Peace Pledge Union and the Non-Violent Resistance Group left his job on his father's farm today on the first stage of a trip to the Hungarian frontier bearing a message to the Hungarian people and the Soviet troops in their country on Christmas Day.

Tonight (Friday) he will meet Press men at a meeting arranged at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, at 8 p.m., to which all Peace News readers are invited.

He will leave Victoria Station tomorrow for Vienna by the 9 a.m. train, unless he uses a plane which has been offered to him as we go to Press.

The text of the leaflet which he hopes to distribute during a Christmas vigil on the Austro-Hungarian frontier reads:

India, lead by Mahatma Gandhi, won independence from British imperialism by non-violent resistance. He saw clearly that true and lasting freedom could only be won by militant but peaceful methods.

He asked his followers not only to remove violence from their actions, but hatred of their enemies from their hearts. The way of love was taught by Jesus. It is the way of Buddha of India, Tolstoy of Russia and the Quakers of many parts of the world.

We hope that you will somehow find the strength to continue your resistance without arms, and will come to realise that violence against the Soviet troops and others hinders, rather than helps, your cause. They, too, are victims of the evil that engulfs the world.

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The protest started in December, 1955, when a Negro woman refused to go down to the segregated Negro section of a bus in downtown Montgomery. She was arrested for breaking the city and State segregation laws.

This touched off one of the most remarkable protests in American history. For a solid year the 50,000 Negro citizens of Montgomery refused to ride the buses.

After several weeks they organised their own car pool so that private transportation would be available to all. This appreciably reduced business for the bus company and it has had to increase its fares fifty per cent and drastically reduce its service.

The protest was carried on in the best Gandhian tradition throughout, lead by a remarkable young clergyman, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

No hate was voiced against the white com-

munity of Montgomery, although there was a bombing of Dr. King's home, many threats by the White Citizens Council, the hanging of effigies of Negroes, and the parading of the dreaded white-robed Klan.

During the boycott, legal manouvering continued in several directions. Dr. King and almost 100 associates in the Montgomery Improvement Association were arrested for conspiracy to boycott. Dr. King was convicted and his sentence is being appealed. Also the bus segregation ordinance was appealed.

In November the United States Supreme Court ruled in a historic decision that, like bus travel between states, bus travel within States and cities cannot be segregated. Because of legal delays and an appeal, this court order has not reached Montgomery.

When it does, the Negroes will call off their

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# AUTHOR SUES U.S. GOVT.

## War taxes refused

A WELL-KNOWN American writer on December 17 filed suit against the United States Government to recover income tax taken from him forcibly in what he claims was a violation of his conscientious objection to war, according to the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia, Pa.

In his complaint filed in US District Court in San Francisco, Milton Mayer demands the return of half of his 1952 income tax which he withheld in order not to compromise his position as a pacifist. The Internal Revenue Service, defendant in the suit, seized the funds on a warrant of distraint in 1955.

Milton Mayer maintains that although he is too old to qualify as an objector to military service under the present Selective Service law, his religious principles will not let him buy guns for other men to shoot.

I would go further than that and say it is composed of half truths and complete inaccuracies.

The Government is so keen for people to have their memorandum that they are sending it out to them and returning the stamps people have enclosed for postage (these people paid a shilling for my pamphlet!).

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This is one of them.

Why is Kenya frightened of an enquiry?

On January 11 Peace News will publish a special Kenya supplement in which Eileen Fletcher will reply to the Government and Dr. Peter Worsley, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Hull, will trace the historical background to Mau Mau in a survey especially prepared for Peace News.

a non-military fund in the Treasury, into which he says he is willing to pay his taxes in full.

His suit was filed by Francis Heisler, civil liberties lawyer of Chicago and Carmel. Acting as fiscal agent for Mayer's case, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors advises and assists citizens who, because of their opposition to war, find themselves unable to perform military service, participate in civil defence, pay taxes, or take oaths.

## DEMOCRACY

The text of the complaint filed December 17 in US District Court for the Northern District of California (Southern Division) San Francisco, quotes Mayer as having written to the Collector of Internal Revenue, at the time he filed his 1952 tax return, as follows:

"... I respectfully observe that I cannot, as a conscientious objector, on religious grounds, to military service, perform the military service here asked of me—the nur-



being smuggled from Iraq, and were consigned to Havel Sroor, a member of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies, and a leader of the pro-Iraqi movement inside Syria.

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He will leave Victoria Station tomorrow for Vienna by the 9 a.m. train, unless he uses a plane which has been offered to him as we go to Press.

The text of the leaflet which he hopes to distribute during a Christmas vigil on the Austro-Hungarian frontier reads:

**THIS** is a message expressing the feelings of people in many parts of the world who have been deeply stirred by recent events in Hungary. It is brought to the Hungarian border in an effort to reach you, the Hungarian people, and you, the Soviet soldiers.

We are not important people, as the world goes, but plain people with deep beliefs. In our own countries we have refused to be conscripted or become a part of the military machines used everywhere to enslave and murder.

We have opposed and condemned the suppression of liberty everywhere—by the West and by the Soviet Union—in Cyprus and Algeria not less than in Poland and Hungary. We strongly opposed the recent crimes of aggression by Britain and France against Egypt and by the Soviet Union against Hungary.

We oppose all war and violence because we believe that, whatever the goal, in the long run they cannot bring lasting good, but only more misery and bloodshed.

You, people of Hungary, have demonstrated that courage and self-sacrifice are stronger than armed might and have thus inspired millions with new hope. When you have fought with arms, the Soviet military machine has been able to defeat you, but it has been unable to conquer you as you continue to resist largely without arms.

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He asked his followers not only to remove violence from their actions, but hatred of their enemies from their hearts. The way of love was taught by Jesus. It is the way of Buddha of India, Tolstoy of Russia and the Quakers of many parts of the world.

We hope that you will somehow find the strength to continue your resistance without arms, and will come to realise that violence against the Soviet troops and others hinders, rather than helps, your cause. They, too, are victims of the evil that engulfs the world.

By resolute non-violent action you may be able to break down the barriers of fear and hatred and bring them to join you in your struggle for freedom.

What can we say to you, the Soviet soldiers stationed in Hungary? We are painfully aware of the crimes of the West and our own failure to prevent them. But precisely because we have opposed them, we feel we must speak frankly to you now.

Just as we deeply regret the occasions when violence has been used against you, so we also must make it clear that we believe the Soviet Government's invasion of Hungary was wrong and are appalled by the bloody repression.

We hope you will not open fire on unarmed people—as many Soviet soldiers to their everlasting credit have already refused to do.

We believe that all men have the right to choose their own way of life and form of government, and that this would result in a society more free and just than that existing in either the West or the Soviet Union today.

Human brotherhood will only be fulfilled when all tyranny is ended. But we believe that the means used are equally important. It is our deep conviction that the road to liberation lies in complete reliance on moral power arising from non-violent resistance and love.

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Milton Mayer maintains that although he is too old to qualify as an objector to military service under the present Selective Service law, his religious principles will not let him buy guns for other men to shoot.

He claims that the government is violating the "freedom of worship" clause of the Constitution by making him pay for armaments. At least 50 per cent of his income tax, he says, is used for that purpose.

Mayer, who writes for leading magazines, took the absolutist pacifist position before the outbreak of World War II when his article, "I Think I'll Sit This One Out," appeared in the Saturday Evening Post.

### COMPLAINTS

Since then he has been a lecturer for the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) and at many colleges, universities, and churches. He has been a member of the faculties of the University of Chicago and Frankfurt (Germany) and is consultant to the Great Books Foundation.

His complaints sets forth that at the time the tax was due he informed the government in writing that he wanted to pay the full tax but could not pay it unless the government would assure him that the tax would be spent for "peaceful and constructive purposes." The Internal Revenue Service replied that it could not segregate tax monies and, when Mayer continued to refuse to pay, the Revenue Service attached his income to collect \$32.78 and interest.

Mayer is now suing for the return of this sum, plus \$66.60 taken from him on a credit owing him for previous overpayment. In asking for court relief on constitutional grounds, he pleads for the establishment of

special Kenya Republic in which Dr. Fletcher will reply to the Government and Dr. Peter Worsley, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Hull, will trace the historical background to Mau Mau in a survey especially prepared for Peace News.

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"... I respectfully observe that I cannot, as a conscientious objector, on religious grounds, to military service, perform the military service here asked of me—the purchase of armaments. Nor, as a loyal American, can I contribute to the militarisation of my country and, through its militarisation, to the ruin which has overtaken every democracy which has ever taken this course.

"I do not defy my Government; I accept gladly my obligation to maintain its free and peaceful institutions, however large a share of my earning they require. If you will inform me of any means whereby I may do so through payment to the Treasury Department, I shall immediately remit such payment in the amount of the balance claimed due in income tax for 1952.

"Meanwhile, and without repudiating the obligation asserted in the preceding sentence, I am remitting, in two equal parts, an amount equal to the balance claimed due, to two private agencies, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the American Friends Service Committee, which, in the Government's own view, are serving our country's free and peaceful institutions.

"I do not wish to contend with my Government, least of all in the matter of percentages. I have, therefore, taken the obviously conservative figure of 50 as that percentage of the current US budget now used for the purchase of armaments, and I have calculated my Income Tax payment for 1952 accordingly."

Arthur Guy Enoch, the author of "This War Business," died last Saturday at Oxford after a short illness in his 87th year. The funeral was at Jordans Meeting House on Wednesday.

E. A. BERGMAN



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# PEACE NEWS

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## THE JACKBOOT AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT

**TOWARDS THE END OF HIS SPEECH** in the Commons' debate on Egypt, Mr. Bevan made some general comments which, if intended seriously, would require a complete change in the Government policy of recent years, not only by the Conservatives but also by Labour.

Mr. Bevan remarked that there had been a complete change in the relationship between nations and between Governments and peoples so that "civil and political objectives in modern society are not attainable by armed force."

This, he said, was something that had been made clear through the French and British action in Egypt, but "exactly the same thing is true of the Russians in Hungary."

"The Russians in Hungary are attempting to achieve civil, social and political objectives by tanks and guns, and the Hungarian people are demonstrating that it cannot be done."

★ ★  
**THERE** are two outstanding factors involved in the changed situation. One is that, as Mr. Bevan urged, "the social furniture of modern society is so complicated and fragile that it cannot support the jackboot."

The other, not specifically mentioned by Mr. Bevan, is that the comprehensive character of war in the age of the H-bomb, threatening as it does universal destruction if a limited war should extend to an unlimited one, inevitably brings hesitation to the Powers who seek to achieve their ends by war and greatly increases the chances of success of those who can find the courage and steadfastness to resist aggression by other means than war.

That resistance by non-violent means to the attempt of an alien power to impose its will by force is more powerful than resort to arms is not something that is new. Gandhi clearly demonstrated its effectiveness.

What is new is the dramatic rapidity with which such a policy can now bring results; this fact should help to bring about an acceptance of the imperative need that men shall seek to achieve and maintain their independence by these methods alone because of the universal threat that war brings with it.

When we see, behind the terrible destruction and suffering that has been inflicted in Hungary, one of the outstandingly hopeful portents of today we do not wish to be misunderstood. We are not claiming that the Hungarian people have been actuated by the philosophy of Gandhi.

They have not been led by people who sought to achieve their freedom by the methods of non-violent action.

★ ★  
**NEVERTHELESS** they have manifested to a high degree some of the qualities that are necessary in the carrying through of a non-violent struggle: courage while unsupported by arms, fortitude and an acceptance of suffering rather than an abandonment of the struggle.



**IT** is not often nowadays that one can listen to a clear voice with a generous and hopeful message from the "Left" in France. The corruption of the working-class movement through the operations of the servile Communist Party of Thorez and the degradation of the Socialist Movement under Mollet have produced such a murkiness of outlook in the French Left that one tends to look outside its ranks for an occasional word of perception and hope from M. Mendes France and his Radicals.

It is with all the more pleasure, therefore, that we have read a recent article by M. Andre Philip in *Le Monde*. M. Philip was one of the few outstanding Socialists in France to condemn the Anglo-French aggression in Egypt. In this most recent article he declares, what we believe to be profoundly true, that the fundamental problem of the present century lies in the settlement of the question of the way the half of humanity who inhabit developed countries are to deal with the underdeveloped countries.

### Difficulties

**M.** PHILIP says that the traditional role of France in the world should have required that, instead of seeking to occupy a small stool at the table of the Great Powers, it should have endeavoured to take the lead as the disinterested educator and counsellor of the smaller nations.

This, he points out, would have made impossible the catastrophic policy that has been pursued in Egypt and it would also have required a different attitude in Algeria from "the pitiless repression camouflaged as pacification" that has characterised the policy of the Mollet Government.

M. Philip's article is a careful setting out of the principles that ought to govern the relationships of the advanced powers with the peoples of the smaller and underdeveloped countries.

He does not minimise the difficulties of the problems that are involved but his views are a clear challenge to the Party that has just been engaged in giving M. Mollet a

occupation forces in Port Said. The commentator referred to the continued occupation as action done "in trust for the UN," without referring to the UN's repeated demands for immediate withdrawal. The Egyptian police were depicted as ridiculously incompetent,

### France Newsreels Africa

and the audience must have marvelled that order was maintained before the valiant British and French troops stepped in.

For the same principled reasons that we object to Communist-front organisations not admitting their political affiliation, we urge Pathe News and Movietone to admit they are in the public relations branch of the Conservative Party.

### Congratulations

**THE** British Government is to be congratulated on its readiness to grant full self-government to the Gold Coast—to be known as Ghana. This is a refreshing and hopeful sign at a time when so many of its policies are the opposite and when repressive colonial policies are enforced by armed might.

The Government's decision has been easier because there has not been a settler population in the Gold Coast and the territory's present strategic position from the viewpoint of the generals is negligible.

But despite this, the Government deserves congratulations.

There are, however, questions which arise out of the coming independence for Ghana which are relevant in consideration of the implementing of freedom for other territories as well.

It is very easy to assume without critical examination that the pattern of society in the West ought to be adopted everywhere. We are uneasy about certain questions related to this, and we have seen neither a clear recognition of these problems nor adequate solutions presented by any

We imagine that most of these would lead to smaller political units, though in a few cases, they might lead to larger ones. We recognise that to the degree that some Westernised African political leaders—as often with other politicians—want power, such proposals will meet with opposition, and that the development of Power States in Africa will be to the interest of the West, including the Communist States.

### No Power State

**SECONDLY**, we ought not to assume quite so easily—as do both Britishers and many Africans—that what is needed in Africa is the establishment of the kind of Power State characteristic of the West in recent times.

It would seem to us quite unwise to automatically—whether by Africans or Europeans—adopt the attitude that that is necessary and that any impediment to that end ought to be removed before the end of European control.

The extension of the Power State to non-European Africa would lead to some unfortunate results, including the de-culturation of the Africans, an extension of the dangerous international consequences of the existence of the Power State to Africa, and an inclusion of Africa in the all too many parts of the world where those in control of the State machinery have direct and extensive control over the individuals within their borders.

That would remove the chance that Africa might become an "island" of hope and experiment in libertarian and peaceful living in a world of spreading conformity, control and military might.

In territories where people have their way of life relatively unscathed and still form relatively autonomous units, as tribes, it would seem desirable that they should be spared the evils of the centralised Power State and allowed to rule themselves.

Where such full autonomy does not exist, considerable decentralisation of both power and responsibility ought to be encouraged.



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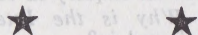
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**NEVERTHELESS** they have manifested to a high degree some of the qualities that are necessary in the carrying through of a non-violent struggle: courage while unsupported by arms, fortitude and an acceptance of suffering rather than an abandonment of the struggle.

There has been a significant abandonment of militaristic conceptions, for the true militarist feels himself helpless without arms.

It is now seven weeks since the Hungarian people had to meet the Russian attack and they are not only unconquered but it has become evident that whatever happens in Hungary in 1957—and this will include much deprivation and suffering—the Hungary that has served the purposes of the Stalinists for the past ten years is ended for ever. There will not be again a vote of 99.9 per cent for a Russian-approved election list.

It is clearly apparent that the Hungarian people could not have maintained themselves unconquered for a period of seven weeks if they had had to depend on what they could do with arms.

They are a small people of ten millions facing a Government with nearly two hundred million people under its control; and which, next to that of the USA, is the most highly armed in the world.

In addition to this the Hungarians have had to contend with a carefully chosen "security police" that has been used against them and with the main administrative positions in their land filled by the nominees of the Russian antagonist.

Some of them have used arms, it is true; but it is not in arms that they have found their strength.

That strength they have found to lie in their power to disobey without resorting to violence, in their refusal to work except on terms consistent with their full manhood.

If they had had no help at the outset from the small Hungarian army, which is now out of the struggle, if they had rejected the use of arms completely they would still have been in a position of strength equal to that which they hold today, while the psychological effect of their action would, of course, have been incomparably greater.

Such an attitude would not require a higher degree of sacrifice than has actually been called for; but it requires a greater strength of will and a calmer courage.

Those who reject the method of war must not let the lesson of the past two months be lost.

## A LOST LEADER

By a contributor to the Ceylon Christian News Bulletin

(The National Christian Council

FOR as long as any of us can remember Great Britain has held a place in the life and affection of Ceylon which no other nation

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He does not minimise the difficulties of the problems that are involved but his views are a clear challenge to the Party that has just been engaged in giving M. Mollet a vote of confidence after having walked out in protest from the Council of the Labour and Socialist International following a condemnation of the aggression in Egypt.

If the group for which M. Philip speaks can advance to the leadership there may be hope for the French Left yet.

If we have any reservations regarding M. Philip's contentions it is in reference to some concluding comments on the need for a united Europe with a view to the definition and realisation of a common foreign policy.

This is a little too similar to the desire of Mr. Angus Maude, MP, to bring some reality into the aims of the "Suez Group" by re-establishing for Britain and France in combination the "Great Power" policy that has so obviously become impossible for them separately.

## Lopsided

IF one is unfortunate enough to visit a cinema which shows Pathe News or Movietone News one must endure a shocking exhibition of lopsided journalism.

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the public relations branch of the Conservative Party.

## Congratulations

THE British Government is to be congratulated on its readiness to grant full self-government to the Gold Coast—to be known as Ghana. This is a refreshing and hopeful sign at a time when so many of its policies are the opposite and when repressive colonial policies are enforced by armed might.

The Government's decision has been easier because there has not been a settler population in the Gold Coast and the territory's present strategic position from the viewpoint of the generals is negligible.

But despite this, the Government deserves congratulations.

There are, however, questions which arise out of the coming independence for Ghana which are relevant in consideration of the implementing of freedom for other territories as well.

It is very easy to assume without critical examination that the pattern of society in the West ought to be adopted everywhere. We are uneasy about certain questions related to this, and we have seen neither a clear recognition of these problems nor adequate solutions presented by any public figure, either in Britain or in the Gold Coast.

## Natural units

FIRSTLY, we ought not to forget that most of the present boundaries in Africa are very artificial ones, which were drawn as a result of the relative success of the Europeans in their power struggle while they grasped for control of Africa.

The boundaries were drawn with no consideration of the factors which naturally ought to be most seriously considered in determining the area which ought to function as a political unit: the extent of a common culture (way of life, beliefs, etc.), language, geography, economics, etc. The events of the years since the carving up of Africa by Europe do not seem to us to have seriously affected the present unnaturalness of many such boundaries.

It seems to us, therefore, that it would be quite reasonable that as European control of Africa recedes, there should be revision of the boundaries drawn by the European invaders.

## From the Editor's Notebook

From our overseas mailbag

DR. HUGENHOLTZ, a leading Dutch pacifist, was among those ordering copies of the Port Said pictures which were reprinted from Peace News as a broadsheet.

He sent them to Dutch MPs and

attitude that is necessary and that any impediment to that end ought to be removed before the end of European control.

The extension of the Power State to non-European Africa would lead to some unfortunate results, including the de-culturation of the Africans, an extension of the dangerous international consequences of the existence of the Power State to Africa, and an inclusion of Africa in the all too many parts of the world where those in control of the State machinery have direct and extensive control over the individuals within their borders.

That would remove the chance that Africa might become an "island" of hope and experiment in libertarian and peaceful living in a world of spreading conformity, control and military might.

In territories where people have their way of life relatively unscathed and still form relatively autonomous units, as tribes, it would seem desirable that they should be spared the evils of the centralised Power State and allowed to rule themselves.

Where such full autonomy does not exist, considerable decentralisation of both power and responsibility ought to be encouraged.

In both cases, larger regional co-operation ought not to be ruled out where it springs from the needs of the people themselves and not from either the needs of the Western Powers, or the ambition of African politicians.

## No excuse

THIRDLY, the encouragement of regionalism as the basis of government must not mean either the perpetuation of a privileged class rule (as the Emirs of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast seem to want) or the use of intimidation and violence to obtain regional rule (as seems to have been used by those advocating self-rule for the Ashanti nation in the Gold Coast).

Political equality and non-violent resistance are necessary if the values which can come from a regional organisation of government are to be achieved.

Fourthly, the colonial powers ought not to use any of these genuine problems as an excuse for maintaining their political, economic and military occupation of Africa.

production of such an excellent paper," writes the Hon. Treasurer.

Thank you, Melbourne readers!

## Endsleigh Cards

IN just over two month's spare time selling, eight members of



Russian attack and they are not only unconquered but have become even stronger than they were in Hungary in 1957—and this will include much deprivation and suffering—the Hungary that has served the purposes of the Stalinists for the past ten years is ended for ever. There will not be again a vote of 99.9 per cent for a Russian-approved election list.

It is clearly apparent that the Hungarian people could not have maintained themselves unconquered for a period of seven weeks if they had had to depend on what they could do with arms.

They are a small people of ten millions facing a Government with nearly two hundred million people under its control; and which, next to that of the USA, is the most highly armed in the world.

In addition to this the Hungarians have had to contend with a carefully chosen "security police" that has been used against them and with the main administrative positions in their land filled by the nominees of the Russian antagonist.

Some of them have used arms, it is true; but it is not in arms that they have found their strength.

That strength they have found to lie in their power to disobey without resorting to violence, in their refusal to work except on terms consistent with their full manhood.

If they had had no help at the outset from the small Hungarian army, which is now out of the struggle, if they had rejected the use of arms completely they would still have been in a position of strength equal to that which they hold today, while the psychological effect of their action would, of course, have been incomparably greater.

Such an attitude would not require a higher degree of sacrifice than has actually been called for; but it requires a greater strength of will and a calmer courage.

Those who reject the method of war must not let the lesson of the past two months be lost.

## A LOST LEADER

FOR as long as any of us can remember Great Britain has held a place in the life and affection of Ceylon which no other nation approached.

Even the long period of colonial rule, with its many unhappy memories, was relieved by the devoted service of many civil servants who loved Ceylon and its peoples.

In modern times we have not been unappreciative of the way in which the old controls have been withdrawn, and in the changed relationship of today, mutual good will and respect have grown.

Not only that, but it is from Great Britain that the Gospel has come to us, and our churches and hers are linked together by the strongest ties.

Our sons have studied at her universities, and her sons have taught in ours. Above all, we have recognised in Britain a certain leadership which has even grown in influence as her military power has declined. Beside the brash inexperience of America with its dollar way of life, we were aware of a maturity of judgment and of understanding in Britain's relationship with Asia which was more in accord with Asian thinking and sentiment.

Quite suddenly—almost overnight

By a contributor to the Ceylon Christian News Bulletin

(The National Christian Council of Ceylon does not take official responsibility for the views of all its contributors.)

—Sir Anthony Eden has destroyed all that. With incredulous eyes we have watched Britain playing a part which seemed to us to be out of character.

Sir Anthony Eden reminded us of Munich, but Munich and the Nazi building up of a case against Czechoslovakia were already painfully in our minds.

Hitherto we had thought of Great Britain as the advocate of negotiation in preference to force; we had come to believe that the Commonwealth had a significance for world peace.

But what was the meaning of the United Nations Organisation if Britain mobilised her military strength first?

What was the meaning of the Commonwealth if this kind of action could take place without consultation?

What was the meaning of negotiation, if nations only negotiate with those who will agree with them?

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What is the meaning . . . ? What is the meaning . . . ?

That is perhaps the worst thing that has happened: Britain has left us asking, what is the meaning . . . of good faith . . . of anything?

Britain has strengthened all the arguments of the cynics; she has weakened the hand of everyone who believed in goodness.

We had looked up to her for moral leadership among a world of self-seekers, and we found her seat empty: she had joined the self-seekers.

It was like getting the news that one's old and revered headmaster had run away with someone else's wife. It shook the foundations of faith a little.

Perhaps that is good for us. It will teach us that our faith in goodness is ill-founded if it is built on someone else's goodness.

There is a real sense in which, in the warfare of the spirit, in the battle for the integrity of the soul, it is ultimately necessary "to go it alone."

That may be a salutary experience, but it has been an experience of profound sadness to have looked up with respect and affection, and then to be left with nothing but a sense of shame.

## National units

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He sent them to Dutch MPs and the Press.

"We Dutchmen," he writes, "have had our own police action atrocities in the Celebes."

Still on the subject of Suez is a copy of a letter to Mr. Dulles sent by the Chairman of the Peace Committee of the First Methodist Church of New Haven, Connecticut.

The Chairman, Mr. J. E. Lalor, expresses appreciation for the State Department's initiative in securing a cease-fire in Egypt, regrets that US policy in the Middle East has been one of manoeuvre and power politics and goes on to urge a "positive programme of building peaceful relations between peoples through helping them . . . without political strings . . ."

Aid from Australia

FROM Australia comes a gift of £A10 to the Peace News Fund from Melbourne Peace Society (founded 1905).

Some of the members of the Committee which administer the residue of this old Society's funds are Peace News readers.

"They wish to assist you in the

the people themselves and not either the needs of the Western Powers, or the ambition of African politicians.

## No excuse

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Endsleigh Cards

IN just over two month's spare time selling, eight members of Mansfield Peace Group have sold more than £86 10s. worth of Endsleigh Christmas Cards. They report a 25 per cent increase on last year's sales. This is typical of the work done by many groups.

The demand for these cards, the proceeds from which help to subsidise Peace News, have rocketed again this year with orders far outstripping the supplies coming in from the printers.

Ten thousand copies of one card showing a Negro and a white child seated at a piano sold out in no time, a second 10,000 was also quickly swallowed up and a third printing of 10,000 came through about ten days before Christmas.

The quality of the cards, maintained over many years now, has brought Endsleigh Cards an almost embarrassing reputation.

We regret that some customers have been greeted with "sold out" because of this greatly increased demand.

Next year we shall be planning distribution on a much bigger scale.



# BACKGROUND TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ARRESTS

## 394 African leaders, asking co-operation with whites, unanimously rejected plan for harsher racial barriers

Among the 140 people arrested in South Africa recently on a charge of treason, the penalty for which is death, are, significantly, members of the influential 14-man committee which last October drafted a resolution opposing the Tomlinson Report with its 40-year plan for regrouping the African, Indian, white and coloured population of South Africa into separate areas. The resolution was endorsed by delegates at a national conference, as reported below:

By **OLWEN BATTERSBY**

**S**INGING the African National Anthem, "Nkosi sikilele i'Afrika" and "Mabiya Afrika," 394 delegates to the national conference of African leaders in Bloemfontein on October 6 affirmed a resolution unanimously rejecting the Tomlinson Report in its entirety.

The conference had been called by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, which has branches throughout the country. Approximately 40 per cent of the delegates were ministers of religion, 20 to 30 per cent professional men, the remainder from workers' and other groups.

South Africa's present policy could no longer be tolerated by the African, for it had reduced him to a state of political impotence, a position in which he was hopeless, powerless, landless and penniless, said the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, President of the Interdenominational Ministers' Federation, in his opening speech.

"The policy has to be changed and we appeal to the European electorate to stop and think. Is the voice of the black man in an atomic age to be treated like the whimpering of a child who cries but does not know what he wants?"

### REPORT ATTACKED

The problem he felt would only be solved by co-operation between the European and the non-European. Both needed each other. All men were necessary in the great workshop of life.

Chief Albert Luthuli of Durban—a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation—said that the African always stood for co-operation. He hoped that the conference would lead to a multi-racial conference where the problem could be discussed by all concerned.

Recommendations of the Tomlinson Report, tabled in the South African Parliament by Dr. Verwoerd, the Minister for Native Affairs, earlier this year, cover a period of over forty

policy which meant "education of the Bantu by the Herrenvolk for the Herrenvolk"; the economic policy which had caused the native reserves to be over-populated, over-stocked and over-eroded; the political policy by which "the African had no political rights, only political disadvantages."

"Apartheid is the law of the jungle under which might is right," said one speaker, "today the lion is Dr. Verwoerd."

Among the speakers reported in the Friend, newspaper of Bloemfontein, were Professor Z. K. Matthews, Acting Principal of the University College of Fort Hare, Mr. S. P. Ngcobo, lecturer in economics at the same college, the Ven. D. A. Bailey, Archdeacon of Bloemfontein, Mr. A. B. Zuma, former President of the African National Congress, and Chief Albert Luthuli, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The resolution, which took a 14-man committee two days to draft, is described by the Rev. A. W. Blaxall in a letter from South Africa to Peace News as "one which would take its place in the chain of historic documents."

"This conference does not subscribe to the view that the choice before South Africa consists only of two alternatives—ultimate complete integration or ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu," stated the resolution.

"The conference maintains that a proper reading of the South African situation calls for the co-operation and interdependence between the various races comprising the South African nation and denies that this arrangement would constitute a threat to the survival of the White man in South Africa."

After stating that the implementation of the Tomlinson Report would mean not only a continuation of the present situation but also a

slave markets euphemistically called the labour bureaux, and all other trappings of a Police State constitute an intolerable burden to the African people."

On Education the resolution continued: "The recommendations of the Tomlinson Report on education are unrealistic as they propose to prepare pupils for life in a society which is non-existent—a mythical Bantustan.

"Economic and world forces tend to channel African development in the opposite direction to co-operation and inter-dependence."

The theory that there could be in South Africa so-called European and Bantu areas was rejected.

The resolution stated: "Conference rejects the concept of national homes for Africans in certain arbitrarily defined areas for the following reasons: Africans are the indigenous inhabitants of the country with an indisputable claim to the whole of South Africa as their home; there is no part of the country to the development of which they have not made their full contribution; such a concept facilitates the exploitation and economic strangulation of the Africans and perpetuates White domination."

### VALUES TRAMPLED

"The belief so widely held by White South Africans that it is so-called white monies that are financing African services and welfare is in total disregard to the fact that the very profits and incomes made by Europeans are the result of the use of Africans as an essential factor in production, and a low wage is paid to them. In other words it is the Africans who are subsidising the Europeans and not vice versa."

The Resolution concluded with an Appeal to the Christian churches to take a clear and unequivocal stand in the defence of Christian and human values now being trampled underfoot in the name of apartheid.

During the course of the meeting a telegram was read stating that two Africans, Mrs. Moremi and Mr. Moletli had been "deported" from Klerksdorp.

It was people like these who would leave "an indelible mark in the hearts of all Africans," said delegates. Christian martyrs were also deported and yet triumphed in the end.

But the South African concept of "deporta-

## PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY OBSERVED

**R**EPORTS are still flowing into the War Resisters' International Headquarters on activities held in many countries to commemorate Prisoners For Peace Day, held December 1, 1956. This day was set aside by the WRI Council to honour all those known and unknown in prison for refusing military service.

"Our heartfelt thanks to all those persons and organisations throughout the world whose splendid co-operation made Prisoners For Peace Day so successful," Arlo Tatum, General Secretary of the WRI, said this week.

### Germany, Denmark, Norway

In Germany 1,500 copies of the "Honour Roll" (available names and addresses of prisoners) were circulated, and it appeared in *Die Friedensrundschau*, publication of the WRI and Fellowship of Reconciliation sections. Many groups met on December First for the sending of Christmas greetings.

At least seven special gatherings took place in Denmark, and six in Norway. The principal meeting was held in Nobel House, Oslo, where Professor Johannes Ude, WRI Council Member, was the guest of honour.

He spent several years in a concentration camp under Hitler.

### USA, Scotland, Ireland

Jim Peck reports from New York that the Catholic Worker movement joined the war Resisters' League (USA Section) in picketing the White House in Washington, DC. Leaflets emphasised the plight of French





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Recommendations of the Tomlinson Report, tabled in the South African Parliament by Dr. Verwoerd, the Minister for Native Affairs, earlier this year, cover a period of over forty years, and plan the regrouping of both Black and White populace so that all but six million natives—indispensable to South African farming and mining—would be confined to a black crescent stretching roughly from Bechuanaland through the Northern Transvaal, and down the coast of Natal to the land of the Zulus.

Speech after speech attacked the Report and the whole policy of apartheid: the educational

## NEW SECRETARY FOR CBCO

THE new Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors is Bryan Reed, of Crawley, Sussex, who is a Quaker and a member of both the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The Fulham tribunal exempted him conditionally in 1952, and he then joined the Friends Ambulance Unit International Service, being in charge of a team of relief workers on Canvey Island at the time of the floods.

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The appointment will take effect on January 19.

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"The conference maintains that a proper reading of the South African situation calls for the co-operation and interdependence between the various races comprising the South African nation and denies that this arrangement would constitute a threat to the survival of the White man in South Africa."

After stating that the implementation of the Tomlinson Report would mean not only a continuation of the status quo, but an aggravation of the worst evils, the resolution continued: "the policy and practice of apartheid denies the African inalienable and basic human rights on the pretext that the African is a threat to White survival and denies him:

- "(a) A share in the government of the country;
- "(b) the inviolability of the home;
- "(c) economic rights, the right to collective bargaining and to sell labour on the best market;
- "(d) the right to free assembly and freedom of travel, movement and association;
- "(e) inviolability of person."

## CIVIL RIGHTS

On civil liberties the resolution stated: "This conference rejects this false picture of the South African situation which seeks to gloss over the glaring inequalities and disabilities from which the Africans suffer under the mounting discriminatory legislation of a Parliament in which they have no effective representation."

"Police raids, banishment orders, dismissals for political non-conformity, extension of the pass system to women, detention camps, farm prisons, convict labour, the

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But the South African concept of "deportation" was a fallacy—the victims would not leave the country. "Whether they send them to the Cape, Natal or Bechuanaland, it will still remain home to them."

## Swiss peace move halted

EVENTS in Hungary and Egypt have caused the Olten Committee in Switzerland to withdraw two initiatives\* aimed at decreasing military expenditure.

These are the second and third initiatives dealing with this subject. The first, "The Dove's Egg," introduced by Samuel Chevallier, was put to the vote in the Swiss Parliament in December, 1955.

It was rejected by 83 votes against 82, the Chairman using his casting vote. The primary cause for its rejection was that it was irregularly phrased.

It was also found to be "impossible to carry out" in as much as it catered for 1955 and 1956, for which a number of contracts had already been made.

### Changed climate

The second and third initiatives were launched by the Olten Committee, of which M. Chevallier is a member.

The second initiative proposed to limit military expenditure to 500 million francs per annum; the third proposed to devote 10 per cent of current military expenditure to social purposes at home and abroad.

Both initiatives had already received the

sections. Many groups met on December First for the sending of Christmas greetings. At least seven special gatherings took place in Denmark, and six in Norway. The principal meeting was held in Nobel House, Oslo, where Professor Johannes Ude, WRI Council Member, was the guest of honour.

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Arlo Tatum, WRI General Secretary, selling Peace News at the Trafalgar Square rally against the Suez War recently.

war resisters and amnesty for World War II objectors, still deprived of certain civil rights.

In Glasgow a special meeting forwarded a Resolution to the French Consulate, and in Dublin an "ex-convict" CO addressed members of the Irish Pacifist Movement.

## England, Belgium, France, Holland

Over a dozen meetings were held in England, where the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, numerous Meetings of the Society of Friends, Peace News and the Peace Pledge Union (British Section) lent full support. The WRI Secretary addressed two of the many gatherings.

In France, Belgium and Holland the "Honour Roll" was given the widest possible publicity, both by the WRI Sections and by sympathetic organisations. Among publications which carried publicity were *La Volonté*



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The generous offer of the last £100 brought an equally generous response from PPU members and friends, three of whom sent cheques for £50 each.

Others sent equally welcome amounts varying from £14 to £1, and as a result the total today is £1,100.

The contest has been like a relay race in which many readers have helped throughout the year. One (anonymous) donor has sent 6s. every month, and another 2s. 6d. a month. A Mansfield member has pushed along the total by several cheques during the year.

To all these, and the many others who have responded to the fortnightly appeal, we do indeed send our very best thanks, and I hope that each will feel the same thrill and encouragement at the result as I do.

This week's paragraph must be one of gratitude for what we have received rather than the usual appeal for what we are about to receive, but, of course, if any of you still want to make this year's record even harder to beat in the future, we will welcome further gifts.

A very happy Christmas to you all, and may the New Year bring all our hopes nearer fulfilment.

**STUART MORRIS,**  
General Secretary.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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## 3,500 CHILDREN FED IN KOREA

THREE thousand, five hundred undernourished children in Seoul, Korea, are receiving a good, hot meal daily at special feeding centres supported by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (17 Broad St., Oxford).

Recently, in answer to an urgent plea, the scheme was extended to another five hundred children in Pusan.

The cost of providing such a meal to a child is less than one penny.

This is only one sphere where the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief work. They have commitments in Hong Kong, the Near East and countries in Western Europe, and in terms of flesh and blood these commitments are destitute, homeless refugees.

Any gift, whether it be clothing, gifts for sale, or money, which is sent to the Committee, is more than material help; it shows that there are people who care for the plight of others.

Peace News office is always available as a collecting centre to North London readers.

## Welsh summer conference

PLAID CYMRU (the Welsh Nationalist Party) will hold its 1957 Summer School and Conference at Bangor over the August Bank Holiday week-end.

The general subject of five lectures and discussions will be Co-operation in economic life and in international affairs.

The recently published statistics relating to the Wealth of Wales will be the subject of the main conference session.

Some 400 members and friends of the party are expected to attend.

## Swiss peace move halted

EVENTS in Hungary and Egypt have caused the Olten Committee in Switzerland to withdraw two initiatives\* aimed at decreasing military expenditure.

These are the second and third initiatives dealing with this subject. The first, "The Dove's Egg," introduced by Samuel Chevallier, was put to the vote in the Swiss Parliament in December, 1955.

It was rejected by 83 votes against 82, the Chairman using his casting vote. The primary cause for its rejection was that it was irregularly phrased.

It was also found to be "impossible to carry out" in as much as it catered for 1955 and 1956, for which a number of contracts had already been made.

### Changed climate

The second and third initiatives were launched by the Olten Committee, of which M. Chevallier is a member.

The second initiative proposed to limit military expenditure to 500 million francs per annum; the third proposed to devote 10 per cent of current military expenditure to social purposes at home and abroad.

Both initiatives had already received the 50,000 signatures which the constitution requires if they are to be put to the direct vote of the electorate†.

Samuel Chevallier, writing in *Le Bon Jour* (published in Lausanne), says:

"The USSR uses its tanks to crush the proletariat whom it claims to represent; French Socialists and English Conservatives get together to defend financial and colonial interests by bombing . . .

"In a climate of hope every gesture, even a symbolic gesture, had a meaning. This is no longer true in the present climate. We must be honest enough to recognise it."

"We must start again . . ."

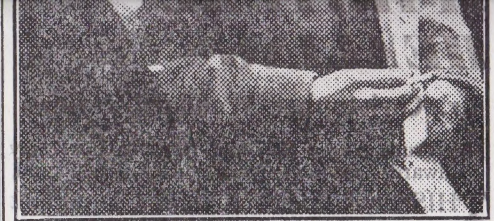
Support for the initiatives came from many different sources, including Communist. The act of launching them is a political act.

The majority of the Olten Committee felt that those who enter the political field must take account of political realities, and it is certain that the present atmosphere in Switzerland, where there are widespread expressions of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist feeling, could not be more unfavourable to the action which the initiatives propose.

Samuel Chevallier has called the necessity for withdrawing these initiatives the "Death of a Hope," but he says, "We must start again from the very beginning."

\*Initiative is the right of a citizen or defined number of citizens, outside the Legislature, to initiate legislation.

†Women do not have the right to vote in Switzerland.



Arlo Tatum, WRI General Secretary, selling Peace News at the Trafalgar Square rally against the Suez War recently.

war resisters and amnesty for World War II objectors, still deprived of certain civil rights.

In Glasgow a special meeting forwarded a Resolution to the French Consulate, and in Dublin an "ex-convict" CO addressed members of the Irish Pacifist Movement.

## England, Belgium, France, Holland

Over a dozen meetings were held in England, where the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, numerous Meetings of the Society of Friends, *Peace News* and the Peace Pledge Union (British Section) lent full support. The WRI Secretary addressed two of the many gatherings.

In France, Belgium and Holland the "Honour Roll" was given the widest possible publicity, both by the WRI Sections and by sympathetic organisations. Among publications which carried publicity were *La Volonté Populaire*, *Defense de l'Homme* and *Vredesactie*.

### Individual action

War resisters everywhere took part personally in Prisoners For Peace Day.

Among individuals who sent Christmas greetings to their imprisoned brothers were WRI members in Japan, Poland, Indonesia, Russia, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.

Many letters were sent to the Press, and thousands of persons must have heard for the first time of the existence of pacifists.

"Prisoners For Peace Day demonstrated the nearly-unused ability of the international pacifist movement to take effective united action," said Mr. Tatum.

Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and India favour the holding of the conference of Asian-African countries "some time next year." This was stated by India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mr. A. K. Chanda on December 10.

## I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

**P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS**

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1



## BOOKS

# Tom Mann: 'Courageous man of vision'

J. T. MURPHY reviews

Tom Mann and His Times (Vol. 1), by Dona Torr. London, Lawrence and Wishart, 21s.

THIS is a book which should be widely read. Dona Torr has written an excellent study of one of the best known and most lovable pioneers of the modern labour movement. Had she not been too concerned to make Tom Mann fit into the Marxian pattern of history, what she reveals unwittingly would have received greater emphasis, indeed would have been the means of giving us a real understanding of Tom's career.

It is not enough to tell us that he had a hard upbringing and worked long hours when he was young, and was ideologically conditioned by the Church. These things were commonplace features of the majority of the working population of the country.

I am sure too that it was not the arguments of Bradlaugh, much as he admired them, nor of Mrs. Besant, which turned him away from the Church.

I doubt if he was ever deep in theology or doctrines of any kind, even those of Karl Marx.

I knew him well for over twenty years. He introduced me to a book of verse with the title *THE LIGHT OF ASIA*.

I think that Mrs. Besant gave it to him, and he carried it round as an earnest Christian might carry with him a copy of the four gospels. Why? Because it enlarged his vision of social being, as did his friend, William Morris.

Tom Mann was not a theorist of any movement; he was a missionary. As he grew from boyhood into a fine upstanding man, he developed a strong moral conscience, a high sense of justice and good fellowship.

His breakaway from the Church in his thirties was a conscience revolt against smug hypocrisy, and sanctimonious social snobbery; it was manly contempt for the spiritual crawlers who were always on their knees. Dona quotes him, "Up off your knees, young men! Don't go continually begging of God that which you ought to do!"

There is Tom Mann, all of him, speaking. There he is, standing on his own feet, courageous, contemptuous of humbug, a man of vision.

When he stepped out of the Church he did not cease to be religious. Religion is not the private preserve of theologians, popes and priests.

It is an expression of belief, of faith in something, whatever it may be—fact or fiction, science or mythology, money-making or human fellowship.

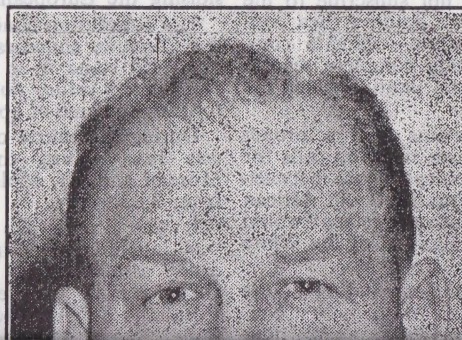
Tom Mann simply set aside theology and the individualism of the Church with its pie-in-the-sky philosophy, and then with the same earnestness he fastened on to the gospel of social salvation through socialism with its own vision of life transformed.

It was this that turned him into one of the greatest missionary orators of socialism in the modern industrial labour movement. I would add, he could give good reasons re-inforced by much factual knowledge for the faith that was in him.

## RECONCILIATION

A big job ahead for the new Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, reports Derek Walker

THE International Fellowship of Reconciliation is ensured of an exciting and progressive programme in the near future. Those who have met its new Secretary, the Rev. Ernest Best, MA, will have



the flourishing movement that he left behind when he returned to Canada after five years.

There is now in Nagasaki a really first-class medical clinic which operates with the help of Christian professors from the nearby university; an X-ray Service, which deals with 10,000 children a year; a crèche for the babies

## A child's life of Gandhi

*Gandhi lives like a poor man*

Last week we read how one young lady gave up her marriage necklace to help the poor Harijans.

JUST as nothing was too rich for Gandhi to accept for his Harijans, so nothing was too small in his eyes either. From a rich lady he would not hesitate to ask all her jewels, while from the poor he would accept even a copper pice (a quarter of one anna).

Always with the same goal in mind he made everyone around him observe the strictest economy, saying that even the tiniest wastefulness was a sin against the poor.

When doing his daily spinning he was always careful to collect every tiny bit of yarn. With these as stuffing, and with covers from tiny left-over scraps of cloth, he would have pin-cushions made.

Nothing was ever thrown away at Sevagram. In the kitchen he had a notice hung, forbidding the waste of salt.

He even kept old envelopes. He cut them up neatly and used them for making notes on.

Often the thoughts that he jotted down on these scraps would amaze the world by their beauty when they appeared later in print.

ONCE a visitor to the ashram was pouring himself out a cup of water. As people often do, he filled the cup too full, and carelessly threw the excess water on the ground. Gandhi scolded him and told him that he had no right to do such a thing.

The water which he had carelessly thrown away was a precious thing in a tropical country like India, where shortage of water is often a serious problem.

In every way Gandhi was practical. He liked food to be cooked in earthen pots.

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

Firstly because this encouraged the cottage industry of potmaking. Secondly, because food is better and more appetising when cooked in earthen pots. Thirdly, because earthen pots are cheaper than other cooking utensils.

When people complained that such pots easily got broken, he told them to be more careful.

HE wanted his life to be a model for the poor in everything. With this idea always in mind he would never use a thing which poor people could not afford—not even a mosquito net on his bed.

He preferred to think out a way in which even the poorest man could protect himself from mosquitoes. This way was to cover himself completely with the bedsheet, before going to sleep, having put a few drops of kerosene oil (paraffin) on his face and hands. Mosquitoes dislike the smell of kerosene oil.

He was equally careful to be plain and simple in the cold season, too. Once when it was very chilly, a young girl in the ashram brought him a hot water bottle to keep his feet warm. He told her to take it away, saying that such things were not used by the poor.

WHEN sick, he would use no expensive patent medicines, as these are also beyond the poor man's reach. Instead he would try experiments on himself with cheap and



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## SPIRITUAL HEALING

**Dr. Christopher Woodard reviews**

*The Truth About Spiritual Healing*, by Harry Edwards. London, Spiritualist Press, 12s. 6d.

**THIS** book comes at a very important moment, and I believe can do immense good. Of course there must be further investigation of the wonderful claims made by the author.

I know what strikes orthodox doctors more and more is how little they know, and how little help they can be in most illnesses, but some of the things which Harry Edwards says about my profession would have been much better left unsaid—not because we can't take them—because I am sure we can—and indeed have to more and more—but because it tends to make the vast majority of people feel that he is overstating his case, and that is a pity, because, as he should know, he has got such a very good case to state.

More and more people are coming to an understanding of these exciting psychic phenomena, but society is still at a point of development where, whether you are one of those people who like it or not, the medical profession can help the majority of people in their troubles more than anyone else can.

I agree with the author that the Archbishops' Commission and the Special Committee of the British Medical Association did not make an unbiased investigation; that can

be a necessary criterion of socialism in the modern industrial labour movement. I would add, he could give good reasons re-inforced by much factual knowledge for the faith that was in him.

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Mr. Best has both scholarship and practical ability, and what better qualities could there be for the leader of a movement where knowledge and action must go hand in hand.

His life over the past sixteen years in every way illustrates his fitness for the job.

Ernest Best is a Canadian, and he has all the imagination and drive that we now expect from that vigorous part of the world.

During World War II, after his graduation from the University of Toronto, while still attending the seminary there, he refused to participate in the University branch of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps.

The refusal made him eligible for conscription (for military duty only *within* Canada) and, as a pacifist, he was interned in a camp.

After a year and a half he was released, to teach the children of interned Japanese Canadians. It was then that he met his wife, the daughter of a missionary to Japan.

They were married soon afterwards, and when the war was over, they worked together on a post-graduate course in Toronto.

After ordination as a minister of the United Church of Canada, he went to take charge of a pastorate, nearly as big as Scotland, in the province of Saskatchewan. Mr. Best points



ERNEST BEST

the flourishing movement that he left behind when he returned to Canada after five years.

There is now in Nagasaki a really first-class medical clinic which operates with the help of Christian professors from the nearby university; an X-ray Service, which deals with 10,000 children a year; a creche for the babies of working mothers, which is vital in the fight against malnutrition, the main cause of the City's high incidence of TB—the highest in the world, and many other expressions of vigorous community life.

A recent Japanese visitor to London, Professor Iwao Ayusawa, has told of the love in which Mr. Best is held in Nagasaki.

In his spare time, which is strictly limited, Mr. Best is completing a thesis on the "Development of Christianity as a Social Movement in Modern Japan."

He is especially interested in the fact that over ninety per cent of the Japanese Protestants are professional and academic men and women. In the past this meant that the Christian community exercised an influence out of all proportion to its numbers.

But now that Japan is becoming more democratic, it may prove more of a handicap to the growth of the Christian Church.

In following recent trends of political development in the East, Mr. Best believes it is essential to bear in mind that the Oriental's traditional attitude of resignation is now becoming a thing of the past.

**Task**

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I agree with the author that the Archbishops' Commission and the Special Committee of the British Medical Association did not make an unbiased investigation; that can be most clearly proved.

It would be interesting to know for instance how many of them—and there were well over fifty in all—even went so far in their investigation as to go down to Shere to see for themselves.

I know a few went there, but I have yet to meet more than three who took the trouble to go to Lourdes which is another place where God has seen fit to reveal His Power in Healing.

I can speak with feeling and knowledge of these investigating Committees, for I also appeared before them. I think Harry Edwards' ideas of how to set up a really unbiased investigation are excellent, and they should be carried out at once.

May I, in recommending this book to all who seek to use the power of God to heal, finally add that I share the author's view, peculiar as it may sound coming from a doctor, that it doesn't matter to God what your colour or your creed may be—He wants all mankind to be healed.

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They were married soon afterwards, and when the war was over, they worked together on a post-graduate course in Toronto.

After ordination as a minister of the United Church of Canada, he went to take charge of a pastorate, nearly as big as Scotland, in the province of Saskatchewan. Mr. Best points out, with some pride, that Saskatchewan has the only Socialist government in North America.

With him to his new post went his wife, who became Public Health Officer for the area.

They worked together in Saskatchewan for three years, and then embarked for Japan under the auspices of the United States Methodist Mission Board.

Mrs. Best had been born in that country, and her husband had grown to love the Japanese people when he worked with them during the war.

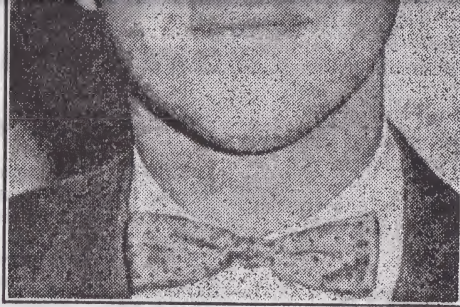
## Interpretation

The task before them was to rebuild a community among the ruins of Nagasaki. The city is built in two valleys separated by a mountain. One valley was completely devastated by the atom bomb, and it was here that they made their headquarters.

The Christian community had been wiped out, but the Bests recognised no religious barriers, and their job was to bring help to anyone who was in need.

Mr. Best saw it as his task to interpret the meaning of real community to the people with whom he worked.

The family system has long been the cement of Japanese society, and indeed they have no word for what we know as community, but the extent of his success may be judged by



ERNEST BEST

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## Task

In coming to work with the IFOR, an organisation which co-ordinates the activities of Fellowships in twenty-four countries, Ernest Best is quite clear about the nature of his task.

As he sees it, the Fellowship has three main objects. First, it has to challenge the Church to face up to the problem of war in the light of the Christian Gospel. Secondly, he is fully aware of the urgent need to co-operate with all who are genuinely working in politics for external peace.

And finally, it should encourage every practical expression of Christian concern for people who are in distress.

Clearly the new Secretary of the IFOR is well equipped for this three-fold task.

He is a scholar and a theologian, and while firmly convinced of the essentially pacific nature of the Christian Gospel, he also realises the need to work with those Christians who do not fully accept the pacifist point of view.

Then, from experience, he knows that it is through organisation, and not just good will, that ends are accomplished.

Lastly, by his work in Nagasaki, he has shown, not only concern, but also capacity in alleviating distress, and giving practical expression to the idea of fellowship.

Well, that is Ernest Best, and world pacifism will feel the impact of his personality before very long.

night against mutilation, the main cause of the City's high incidence of TB—the highest in the world, and many other expressions of vigorous community life.

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This will be a useful little handbook for all members of the Society of Friends, but not only for them. Most workers for peace come into frequent contact with Quakers but some have only vague ideas about the organisation of the Society and ways of Friends; to such as these the information given here will be very helpful.

B.R.D.

Peace News readers and nature lovers will appreciate the

## TREE LOVERS' CALENDAR for 1957

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# STILL WALKING TO FREEDOM

● FROM PAGE ONE

boycott and begin to ride the buses again, but in an unsegregated manner.

In the meantime, however, their elaborate car pool (containing at least 20 new station wagons) has been stopped through a temporary injunction for the past month. It has been especially difficult for many Negroes to find transportation.

They have walked and prayed. The buses are still devoid of Negro passengers and the morale of the Negro community is exceptionally high.

## Fill jails

It was against this background that the Institute on Non-violence and Social Change was convened. Dr. King, as President of the Montgomery Improvement Association, summarised what the Negro people learned in the campaign:

1. That they can stick together in a common cause;
2. That their leaders do not have to sell them out;
3. That threats and violence do "not necessarily intimidate those who are sufficiently aroused and non-violent";
4. That their church is becoming militant;
5. That they have gained a new sense of dignity and destiny; and
6. That they have "discovered a new and powerful weapon: non-violent resistance."

Dr. King warned that the boycott was not an end in itself, but a means "to awaken a sense of shame within the oppressor and challenge his false sense of superiority." He called segregation "nothing but slavery covered up with certain niceties of complexity."

In Gandhian fashion Dr. King showed no fear of jail and suggested that they must be "willing to fill up the jail houses of the South."

He asserted that their defence is "to meet every act of violence toward an individual negro with the fact that there are thousands of others who will present themselves in his place as potential victims."

One of the by-products of the Montgomery protest is its spread to other Southern cities. During one session of the Institute, representatives from some of these other cities told of non-violent efforts in their communities to outlaw bus segregation.

## Fasting

the freedom to speak out. They have also lost their freedom from fear.

She praised the Montgomery Negroes for helping the whites: "in dramatising that the extreme way can be the good way, the creative way, and that in time of ordeal it is the only way, you are helping the white South find its way, too."

She concluded by thanking the Negroes for what they are doing for themselves and for the entire South.

She thanked them also for showing the world again there is "always a creative, good, non-violent way to meet (an) ordeal."

Among other features of the week-long programme were talks by prominent Negro clergymen—all reflecting to a surprising degree Gandhian strategy. One man said that Gandhi will top the men of the twentieth century "ahead of Eisenhower, Rockefeller, or Hitler."

During the daily seminars, Mr. Glenn Smiley, a Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, suggested Gandhian methods for the Montgomery Negroes to use when they first begin to ride the buses again. By means of a sociodrama, he had Negroes and whites explore the contingencies which might arise as Negroes for the first time board Montgomery buses and refuse to sit in the rear seat hitherto assigned to them.

## Fearless

The prediction seemed to be that the integration would proceed fairly smoothly, since both the city and the bus company have apparently had enough of the boycott.

There is a possibility that the racist White Citizens Council may organise a boycott of the buses by white riders, but since they constitute a minority of the bus patrons, it is not felt that this will be an economic threat and therefore lasting.

Violence on the buses is always possible, and the seminars showed how Negroes could avoid any violence on the buses by Gandhian means.

The whites in Montgomery and the South generally have not been conspicuous for their support of the bus protest. One young white clergyman, with an all-Negro church, has, however, been outstanding in helping the boycott. His home was bombed, but he remains fearless.

Whites in other parts of the South have watched the successful Gandhian techniques and have wondered whether they could adopt them for their own racist goals.

Thus one American Senator talked of "massive resistance" against integration of the races.

One mayor in Kentucky is an attorney

# Letters to the Editor

## Particular wars

YOUR issue of December 7 contained a report by Mavis James of a tribunal decision that an objector could not be exempted because he objected only to a "particular" war, viz. in Cyprus and Egypt.

No doubt most people in this country, and the Government, felt that every German should have refused to fight in the German army in 1939 because the Germans were the aggressors: let this be agreed, but this was a "particular" war, so how could one logically expect a German to refuse to fight when his Government tells him, while we insist that an Englishman must fight when he is told, even if he believes that we are the aggressors?

Would an Egyptian or a Cypriot see any difference in the two cases?

SYDENY ASHWORTH.

156 Balfour Rd.,  
Brighton, 6.

## Israeli viewpoint

THE following is an extract from a letter received from an Israeli friend on December 8:

"I agree that Ben Gurion is old and frightened, but hardly nervous. He pulled off the Egyptian affair last week with the shrewdest Jewish cunning I have ever seen, perfectly timed with Britain, at a period when USA was bamboozled a day or two before the Presidential elections, when USSR was embroiled in Hungary (filthy business of hers there), and just before the winter rains.

"Superlative timing, I think we are all bound to admit, and I make no objection if you say the cunning was devilish. The whole thing is devilish, but it is not by our wish.

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FRANK R. HANCOCK.

Charmouth, Dorset.

## Golden medals

YOUR correspondent, Mr. George Rulf (PN, December 7), still appears to believe

December 21, 1956—PEACE NEWS—5

the law of justice and mercy that binds a Christian.

Hermia Renyarde's reference to our Lord's Command about yea and nay seems to imply that she thinks that He saw moral problems as strictly black and white.

Rather I would suggest that Jesus of Nazareth knew life as a thing too painful and complex for such a distinction. Hence His uniqueness, His tremendous clemency and challenge to the self-righteous.

He who succoured the prostitute would surely understand the agony of the 20th century man in his scientific wilderness of indecision and cold comfort. Conscience is a diverse thing and is not always the monopoly of pacifists.

ROY WOLSTENHOLME.

19 Long Hay, Hale, Cheshire.

## Keep on showing it

MAY I suggest one small but useful action for these days—carry Peace News and let its front page be seen every time you get into a bus or train—it usually carries a headline worth publicizing, and the very name of the paper helps to puncture complacency over our Government's actions.

KATHLEEN RAWLINS.

124 Greenfield Avenue,  
Carpenters Park.

## Fellowship Party

RONALD MALLONE writes on behalf of the Fellowship Party pointing out that the 1957 Peace Diary incorrectly records Kathleen Lonsdale as one of the vice-presidents of the Party.

One of the original vice-presidents, she did not feel able to let herself be nominated at 1956 Annual Conference. The address of the Party's head office is at 141 Woolacombe Rd., the figure 14 in the diary is a printer's error.

## Read COSMIC VOICE

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Society, 88 The Drive Mansions, Fulham



3. That threats and violence do not necessarily intimidate those who are sufficiently aroused and non-violent";

4. That their church is becoming militant;

5. That they have gained a new sense of dignity and destiny; and

6. That they have "discovered a new and powerful weapon: non-violent resistance."

Dr. King warned that the boycott was not an end in itself, but a means "to awaken a sense of shame within the oppressor and challenge his false sense of superiority." He called segregation "nothing but slavery covered up with certain niceties of complexity."

In Gandhian fashion Dr. King showed no fear of jail and suggested that they must be "willing to fill up the jail houses of the South."

He asserted that their defence is "to meet every act of violence toward an individual negro with the fact that there are thousands of others who will present themselves in his place as potential victims."

One of the by-products of the Montgomery protest is its spread to other Southern cities. During one session of the Institute, representatives from some of these other cities told of non-violent efforts in their communities to outlaw bus segregation.

## Fasting

In the Indian tradition, one day of the Institute was devoted to fasting and prayer.

All Negro churches in Montgomery were asked to ring their bells at 6 a.m. and to have a one-hour prayer service, with everybody fasting the entire day.

It was reported that some Negro prisoners in the Montgomery jail, incarcerated there for various civil offences, also joined in the fast.

During one of the evening rallies, attended by thousands of local Negroes as well as many out-of-town visitors, Miss Lillian Smith, the white Southern writer, was scheduled to speak. Sickness prevented her from appearing, but her remarks, read for her, constituted one of the great statements on strategy against segregation for our times.

Miss Smith condemned the current American mood of moderation. She congratulated the Negro people of Montgomery for not being moderate. She said they were extremists—not a popular word in America today—but "good, creative, loving extremists and I want to tell you I admire and respect you for it."

She added that while moderation may be the slogan of our times, "moderation never made a man or a nation great."

Lillian Smith explained how the white people in the South have given up their freedoms in recent months and years in acquiescence to the moderates who would continue the segregated status quo. She said that the white Southerners no longer have the freedom to do right, the freedom to obey the law, and

to sit in the rear seat hither-to assigned to them.

## Fearless

The prediction seemed to be that the integration would proceed fairly smoothly, since both the city and the bus company have apparently had enough of the boycott.

There is a possibility that the racist White Citizens Council may organise a boycott of the buses by white riders, but since they constitute a minority of the bus patrons, it is not felt that this will be an economic threat and therefore lasting.

Violence on the buses is always possible, and the seminars showed how Negroes could avoid any violence on the buses by Gandhian means.

The whites in Montgomery and the South generally have not been conspicuous for their support of the bus protest. One young white clergyman, with an all-Negro church, has, however, been outstanding in helping the boycott. His home was bombed, but he remains fearless.

Whites in other parts of the South have watched the successful Gandhian techniques and have wondered whether they could adopt them for their own racist goals.

Thus one American Senator talked of "massive resistance" against integration of the races.

One mayor in Kentucky in an attempt to oust Negroes from the public schools stated: "We're having all the people in town sign a petition asking all the teachers to stay out of school until the Negroes get out. We're going to take a tip from Nehru and the Indians; we're going to practice non-violent resistance. Of course, we wouldn't want them over here, but we can learn from them."

This raises the ethical question which Gandhi himself faced: can good means be used for evil ends or bad means for good ends?

## Contributions

Present at the Institute was Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress in her forties, who started the whole protest by refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger. Since her original impulse—and her arrest—she has been in demand from New York to California, not to make great speeches, but just to appear before Negro and white groups as a symbol of Southern resistance to segregation.

The other leaders of the movement have also travelled widely in America in the past year, raising funds to run the car pools and to pay the heavy legal expenses. It is estimated that at least £125,000 has been raised, probably one-half from the Negroes in Montgomery, the other half from Negro, interracial, and white groups throughout America.

One of the stirring moments at each evening prayer meeting is the summary of contributions, large and small, sent in by groups all over America toward the Montgomery fund called "dollars for freedom."

received from an Israeli friend on December 8:

"I agree that Ben Gurion is old and frightened, but hardly nervous. He pulled off the Egyptian affair last week with the shrewdest Jewish cunning I have ever seen, perfectly timed with Britain, at a period when USA was bamboozled a day or two before the Presidential elections, when USSR was embroiled in Hungary (filthy business of hers there), and just before the winter rains.

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Charmouth, Dorset.

## Golden medals

YOUR correspondent, Mr. George Rulf (PN, December 7), still appears to believe the outmoded and exploded myth that international sport organised on a national basis leads to international amity. Recent incidents at the Olympic Games have once again shown the error of that belief.

In fact conflicts on the sports field between national teams only serve to exacerbate mutual hatreds and intensify nationalism, which, as Eugene Lanti, one of the foremost political thinkers of this century has pointed out, is the only contemporary religion which still demands human sacrifices.

S. R. DALTON. LL.B.

34 Louis St., Leeds, 7.

## Catholic pacifists

HERMIA RENYARDE'S charge of sophistry (PN, December 7) is ill-founded. There is no deception in the church's recognition of two deeply sincere attitudes to peace and war; on the one side mine, that of the conscientious objector, and on the other that of the person who knows that in the last resort it may be necessary to take a life in defence of his weaker neighbour and loved ones.

Now his position is deadly serious (as is the pacifist's) and the church demands that he fights his personal enemy cleanly but does not slaughter that enemy's sister or mother or wipe out his neighbours' street. It is indeed just this lack of discrimination that is involved in a war of defence today and that horrifies the sincere non-pacifist and so the situation for him can hardly be squared with

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## DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

### Sunday, December 23

LONDON, W.11: 7 p.m.: Universal Centre, 17a Portland Road, Holland Park. Robert Steele, Vinoba Bhawe and the Land-gift Movement.

### Monday, December 24

LONDON, W.11: Peace Pilgrimage. 2.15 p.m.; 17a Portland Rd. (Near Holland Pk. Stn.) 3 p.m.; Essex Church, Notting Hill Gate. 5.30 p.m.; Brompton Oratory. Religion Commission Peace Pledge Union.

### Wednesday, December 26

KIDBROOKE: No Fellowship Party mtg. owing to festivities. Next mtg., Jan. 2.

### Saturday, December 29

LONDON, N.5: Steenoven Ho., 16 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury. 12.15 p.m.; Sung Eucharist. 1.15 p.m.; Lunch (2s. 6d.—apply in advance). 3 p.m.; Short prayers for peace. 4 p.m.; Public mtg. 5 p.m.; Tea. (1s. each.) 6 p.m.; Prayers for peace with hymns and address. 8 p.m.; Carols for Peace. Crusade of Prayer for Peace and Religion Commission Peace Pledge Union.

### Saturday, January 5

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m.; “The Beehive”, Bishopsgate St. (off Broad St.). Christmas Party. Folk dancing, sketches, etc. West Midlands Area, PPU.

### Sunday, January 6

BELFAST: 3.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Richard K. Ullmann (Lecturer Friends College, Woodbrooke, Birmingham), “The Christian Attitude to the War on Want.” Fellowship of Reconciliation.

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**TERMS:** Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**LATEST TIME** for copy: Monday morning before publication.

**PLEASE NOTE:** Advertisements for the issue of December 28 must be received not later than Friday, December 21.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

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### LITERATURE

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

**PEACE NEWS OFFICE** IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

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# EGYPT v IRAQ

on the charge of fostering treasonable activities.

In Iraq, on the other hand, there have been mass public demonstrations and riots, involving leaders of non-Communist democratic parties, university professors, and lawyers.

Martial law has been clamped upon the entire country and twenty-three Iraqi nationalist leaders including Kamil Chederjey, Hussein Jamil, Faik Sammiray, along with hundreds of the rank and file are now in prison.

Here a distinction must be drawn between the revolt of the pro-Egyptians and the effort of the pro-Iraqis. The former is basically democratic, is open, and has a mass base. The latter is essentially semi-fascist in character, is clandestine, and is led by "armed bohemians."

(This is the phrase used by Heiden to characterise the leadership of the Nazi and Fascist movements.)

## THE WEST'S DILEMMA

The Western Powers have been seriously alarmed by the arrest in Damascus of the pro-Iraqi "armed bohemians," because these people are not only pro-Iraqi but also accidentally happen to be pro-West.

And since these arrests were made by the Syrian Army Chief of Staff, Lieut. Col. Sarraj,



these two people mutually share a strong anti-Nuri-es-Said feeling.

But it is hard to believe that the Socialists and the Communists and the Army have ganged up to usurp the Syrian Government. Furthermore, an alliance of the Baath with the Communists is highly improbable, much though Khaled Bakdash, the Arab Communist boss, may want it.

This was one reason why the Baath refused an electoral alliance, or even an electoral adjustment, with the Communists in the recent Jordanian elections.

In Syria an attempt is being made to organise a Left-wing front.

Last month an attempt was made to broaden the size of the Cabinet by bringing in Maarouf Dwalibi (of the Party of the People) Khaled Azzam (of the Nationalist Party) and Akram Hourani (of the Socialist Party) into the Government.

The move was, however, postponed—not abandoned—when the American and the Saudi Arabian Ambassadors prevailed upon Salah Bitar to delay the changes.

The top news of the last weekend has been that the effort to reorganise the Cabinet on a Left-wing basis has been renewed.

## LEBANON

If Jordan and Syria, on the one hand, have shown a tendency to move increasingly towards the non-Communist Left, the Saudi Arabian and Lebanese Governments have shown a tendency towards Conservatism, and it seems that they both want to play the role of "neutrals" between the current Baghdad-Cairo rivalry.

In Lebanon the Government of Abdullah Yaffi fell when it failed to get support for breaking diplomatic relations with France. In

## The political make-up of the Syrian Chamber of Deputies

Independents: 41 seats.

Party of the People: (Hazz-ul-Shaab) 33 seats: It is generally pro-Iraqi with a small pro-Egyptian element. Rashdi Kekhia and Fyed Attasi are leaders of the pro-Iraqi wing; Asmad Kanbar (Minister of the Interior) and Nazzem Kudsi (Speaker) are the leaders of the Centre, and Marrouf Dwalibi, is the leader of the pro-Egyptian left-wing.

The National Party: (Hazz-ul-Watan) 30 seats: It is a party of feudal landlords, generally pro-Egyptian, with a small pro-Iraqi wing. The leaders of the Party are President Shukair Kuwaatly, Prime Minister Sabri Assali, and Father Kyali. Pro-Iraqi

# '...ON EARTH PEACE'

"...and on earth peace, good will toward men"

—St. Luke II. 14.

THE special words for Christmas are so familiar that very few people think about their meaning, nor do they link them with their ordinary daily lives, but only with Christmastide.

"This is the season of goodwill," they say, lightly, making the two words "good" and "will" into one word, and by implication limiting the active manifestation of that word to a length of time which covers the Christmas shopping period up to Boxing Day.

The joy of present giving belongs, of course, to the emotion of love and affection with its consequent desire to give pleasure. Giving and loving are natural partners.

And so it is that at Christmas time there is the "will" to be friendly, open-handed, and receptive. Even among nations this "will" towards friendly relationships has, on occasion, prevailed even in the midst of war.

The time in which this natural human emotion of friendliness operates is very short indeed: and yet the "multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men" were undoubtedly singing their paean of good news for mankind, not just for a day, but for ever.

★

But mankind, while giving lip service to the will for peace, has, in fact, rejected it: the rise of nationalism, the military pacts, the power politic treaties, have all been a will, not to good and to peace, but to evil and to war.

The Jews, who in spite of appalling persecutions through the centuries, have somehow survived and persisted as a race without going to war, accepted the dictates of nationalism immediately they achieved their national home, by building up an arsenal and an army, and marching off to war at the very first bugle call.

When India became a nation, the Indians, freed from foreign occupation immediately abandoned the concept of non-violence and joined in the universal reliance upon armaments.

This Christmas we face the bitter knowledge that there is very little will to good in the world. The attitude of this country alone, towards the Cypriots and Egyptians, and the excuses made in justification of our actions in their countries, show the extent to which any good will has disappeared.

It seems unlikely that there will be any Christmas truce, and even if there were, it would be a sickening mockery if afterwards, peace and good will are to be wrapped up in

war-ridden nations, and the truths that Jesus preached are not acceptable to a world in arms.

And yet it is clear that the great hymn of "the multitude of the heavenly host" has in it an ultimate truth which contradicts man's faith in armaments. Peace and good will are not two separate things; they are indivisible, for there can, in fact, be no peace unless there is a will towards the good of other men.

The German version reads: "peace on earth to all men of good will" and though it sounds different from the English text yet it is, in meaning, exactly the same. There cannot fail to be peace on earth when men have in their hearts a will to good; without it there can be none.

In whatever language this familiar text is preached it remains as true today as the day it was first heard, nearly two thousand years ago.

When nations in pursuit of peace approach all peoples and all problems in good will, then wars will cease and there will be "on earth—peace."

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## PEACE DIARY

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## The prisoners

TO all readers of Peace News, especially Christian pacifists to whom this season is especially Holy, "May you have a Blessed Christmas," without forgetting those who are in prison.

Whilst some will be turning this Holy Festival into frivolity may they find opportunity to mention those in prison for peace and the Prince of Peace to their friends and guests. It will have a rather sobering effect.



The Western Powers have been seriously alarmed by the arrest in Damascus of the pro-Iraqi "armed bohemians," because these people are not only pro-Iraqi but also accidentally happen to be pro-West.

And since these arrests were made by the Syrian Army Chief of Staff, Lieut. Col. Sarraj,



Photo: Courtesy Iraqi Embassy, London.  
**Nuri es Said, Prime Minister of Iraq**

who heads the internal security machinery, it has been widely felt in the West that Sarraj is making an attempt to usurp power and to deliver Syria to the Soviet bloc.

The Israeli and the Iraqi radios have even gone to the extent of reporting that Sarraj had actually usurped power, and that the Syrian Cabinet was his virtual prisoner.

Such reports are not only misleading but untrue. The West has been in panic because the ghost of Nasserism haunts it. The West has been constantly living in a nightmare which leads it to believe that the Army Chiefs of Staff in Syria, in Jordan, in Libya, in Saudi Arabia all are plotting coup d'etats in their respective States.

General Ali Abou Nuwar, the Jordanian Chief of Staff, was similarly accused last year, after the dismissal of Glubb Pasha. And I learn on a very good authority that General Glubb Pasha has been in Cyprus recently.

Salah Bitar, the Syrian Minister of the Interior, the top news of the last weekend has been that the effort to reorganise the Cabinet on a Left-wing basis has been renewed.

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*The Socialist Party: (Al Baath Al-Arabi Ishtarki)* Strongly anti-imperialist and pro-Egyptian, and vanguard of Arab unity. Its leaders are Foreign Minister Salah el Bitar, Trade Union leader Akram Hourani, and Professor Michael Aflak.

*Tribal Deputies:* 9 seats. Strongly pro-Iraqi, their leader Hael Sroor has been charged with fostering treasonable activities.

*Moslem Brotherhood:* 2 seats. Religious and a semi-fascist group.

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the time in which this natural human emotion of friendliness operates is very short indeed: and yet the "multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men" were undoubtedly singing their paean of good news for mankind, not just for a day, but for ever.

★

But mankind, while giving lip service to the will for peace, has, in fact, rejected it: the rise of nationalism, the military pacts, the power politic treaties, have all been a will, not to good and to peace, but to evil and to war.

The Jews, who in spite of appalling persecutions through the centuries, have somehow survived and persisted as a race without going to war, accepted the dictates of nationalism immediately they achieved their national home, by building up an arsenal and an army, and marching off to war at the very first bugle call.

When India became a nation, the Indians, freed from foreign occupation immediately abandoned the concept of non-violence and joined in the universal reliance upon armaments.

This Christmas we face the bitter knowledge that there is very little will to good in the world. The attitude of this country alone, towards the Cypriots and Egyptians, and the excuses made in justification of our actions in their countries, show the extent to which any good will has disappeared.

It seems unlikely that there will be any Christmas truce, and even if there were, it would be a sickening mockery if afterwards, peace and good will are to be wrapped up in some nice holly-spangled paper and put away until next year.

The cruelty and brutality of the Russian oppression in Hungary, and the violence of the revolution there, will not cease because Christendom is celebrating the birth of Christianity. The songs that greeted the news of that birth have ceased to have meaning to

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all peoples and all problems in good will, then wars will cease and there will be "on earth —peace."

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## The prisoners

TO all readers of Peace News, especially Christian pacifists to whom this season is especially Holy, "May you have a Blessed Christmas," without forgetting those who are in prison.

Whilst some will be turning this Holy Festival into frivolity may they find opportunity to mention those in prison for peace and the Prince of Peace to their friends and guests. It will have a rather sobering effect.

And now for you little ones who think you can do nothing as you have no power; you can be a great power (collectively) in helping to release those who happen to be in prison next year by making the resolution NOW to remember the CO in prison every night and being determined to send every one a Christmas card next year.

Think what an effect it would have on the prison authorities if every CO received 6,000 Christmas cards next year. You would not only ensure your Happy Christmas, but THEIRS, too, and do not forget the singing outside the prison this year.

H. HALLAM.

88 Burford Rd., Nottingham, England.



## LET YOUR SAVINGS NOW EARN





Photo: Courtesy Iraqi Embassy, London.  
**Nuri es Said, Prime Minister of Iraq**

who heads the internal security machinery, it has been widely felt in the West that Sarraj is making an attempt to usurp power and to deliver Syria to the Soviet bloc.

The Israeli and the Iraqi radios have even gone to the extent of reporting that Sarraj had actually usurped power, and that the Syrian Cabinet was his virtual prisoner.

Such reports are not only misleading but untrue. The West has been in panic because the ghost of Nasserism haunts it. The West has been constantly living in a nightmare which leads it to believe that the Army Chiefs of Staff in Syria, in Jordan, in Libya, in Saudi Arabia all are plotting coup d'etats in their respective States.

**General Ali Abou Nuwar, the Jordanian Chief of Staff, was similarly accused last year, after the dismissal of Glubb Pasha. And I learn on a very good authority that General Glubb Pasha has been in Cyprus recently.**

## SWING TO THE LEFT

What, however, has been happening in the Middle East is the rise of a strong non-Communist Left. In the Jordanian elections, though the Baath Socialist Party only secured two seats, it secured about 30 per cent of the popular vote, and quite a few of its candidates lost by a less than 1,000 vote margin.

The present Foreign Minister of Jordan, Abdullah Rimawi, is a member of the Baath. And it is hardly any surprise that the other Baathist member of the Parliament, Kemal Nasser, was the one who moved the demand that Iraq be asked to withdraw her troops from Jordan.

The Foreign Minister of Syria, Salah el Bitar, is also a member of the Baath Party. This means that the Jordanian and Syrian Foreign Policies are being co-ordinated to the utmost extent, in fact they are almost identical. A move is growing in Jordan for a Syrio-Jordanian reunification.

The West is naturally frightened by these developments.

The British and the American Ambassadors, I am told by an official spokesman of the Baath, voiced their governments' objection to the appointment of Rimawi to the Jordanian Foreign Ministry, but King Hussein did not give in.

In Syria, the Army is controlled by the Cabinet. Col. Sarraj, according to the Baath spokesman, has hardly any significant political role to play. He is, no doubt, a close friend of Akram Hourani (the Socialist leader of Syria who has had a hand in almost every Syrian coup d'etat during the last twenty years), and

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(It is also interesting to know that Hassan-el Attrash, a strong pro-Iraqi tribal leader of Syria, who recently escaped to Lebanon has found refuge at Kemal Joublat's house. This should not sound very surprising. Joublat's house has been a haven for political refugees of all shades and at one time the Baath leaders—Akram Hourani and Michael Aflak, who had been exiled by dictator Shisakly—were living in Joublat's beautiful mountain home in El Moukhtara.)

Middle Eastern politics are still unpredictable. For one thing, Britain and

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At the French foreign office last week I got the impression that Paris is still hoping that before the end of next spring—by that time the Suez Canal would have been cleared, and an anti-Nasser American policy would have emerged—the British "tacticians" would be able to bring Ali Maher to power in Egypt.

To us it may seem vain thinking, but the British and the French Foreign Offices always had strange ways.

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